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The Change of Officials in Tzo?ontahal, Chiapas, Mexico

An Analysis of Behavior as a Key to Structure and Process

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Introduction

BEHAVIORAL REGULARITIES in ritual or informal interaction are usually considered the raw material for making structural-functional statements. The descriptive data are used illustratively or may never be included with published material. This monograph describes ritual activity, both elicited and observed. The object is (1) to state the behavioral dimensions of a structural-functional model and (2) to show where social changes are putting stress on that structure.

Ritual events are good occasions for such study because both communally prescribed and individually preferred behavior can be recorded. The expected behavior can be sorted out from the chance since the rules are more explicit than in ordinary interaction. Ceremonial behavior projects in a public performance a given set of status relationships. In doing things as they were done in the past, a theme repeated in prayers and in explanations for actions, people assert continuity of tradition. But just because of this, ceremonies are an occasion for dramatizing social change (Geertz, 1957). Competition between groups and tensions deriving from contradictions which are not apparent in everyday life may be expressed during the ceremony.

I have chosen the rituals of the inauguration of civil and religious officials in the community of Tzo?ontahal, Chiapas, Mexico, because in these performances people act out their techniques for maintaining continuity at the time of change.[1] The inauguration is a rite of passage designed to gain social acceptance of new personnel in a given set of roles. However, as in all ceremonies in this community, the occasion provides the backdrop for the release of latent hostilities. The formal ceremony requires drinking a great deal of the locally distilled liquor, "the gift of the ancestors" that makes fiestas possible.[2] Liquor rids the participants of embarrassment

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[1] Field research was supported by a grant from the National Institute of Mental Health which made possible my stay from May to September, 1964, and again in December, 1964. I am grateful to Duane Metzger for providing facilities for working in San Cristobal de las Casas with my informants. Comments by Harold Conklin, Constance Sutton, and David Hunter have helped improve earlier versions.

[2] In a myth concerning the origin of liquor, it is said that the town had no fiestas until Santiago gave the gift of liquor.

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and, in fostering social intercourse, it frees them of other constraints. With the usual inhibitions removed, the social interaction following the ceremony allows the investigator to see below the surface. 121 796 273

We have many structural-functional descriptions of the civil-religious hierarchy of highland Maya Indian communities (Adams, 1957; Cámara Barbachano, 1952; Cancian, 1964; McArthur, 1961; Siverts, 1960, 1964; Tax, 1964; Vogt, 1965; Zabala Cubillos, 1961). The roles and functions of the hierarchy are at least minimally described in the many community studies of the area (Bunzel, 1952; Guiteras Holmes, 1961; LaFarge, 1947; LaFarge and Byers, 1931; M. Nash, 1955; Tax, 1947a,b; Valladares, 1957; Wagley, 1949; Wisdom, 1940). We have, as well, historical summaries of the colonial and independence developments (Aguirre Beltrán, 1953; Carrasco, 1952, 1961; Chávez Orozco, 1943). In previous summaries of the structure and functioning of the hierarchies, however, systematic descriptive data on performances are mostly lacking. Vogt (1965, p. 42) has indicated the value of observing behavior as a "reliable operational measure for determining rank" in Zinacantan. Cross-community comparison of institutions would be facilitated by such behavioral data. For example, the recurrent descriptive phrase "closely integrated civil-religious hierarchy" covers a spectrum of behavioral and ideological components which ranges from one in which officials of both ladders are linked by a series of sacred acts, functions and personnel, to one in which there is independent and exclusive participation. These generalizations can be broken down to a series of acts in which they are expressed. If comparison over time or between communities is to be meaningful, we must look to the descriptive detail which went into such generalizations. 121 114 121

For any scheduled event such as a ritual, three sources of data are available: the expectations of what will happen, the case histories of similar events in the past, and the observation of the event. In tapping the first of these, I have used the technique developed by Metzger and Williams (1963) in formal ethnographic analysis.[8] In this approach, the informant co- 121 124

[8] I am indebted to Duane Metzger for training in these methods, and to discussions with him, Brent Berlin, and Paul Kay which helped me in working out the observation schedule. [114]

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operates with the ethnologist in framing questions in his own language. Within a chronological framework, questions of who is doing what, when, where, how, and why are asked for each activity. The same set of questions can be asked of several informants in this phase of the investigation. This method yields understanding of the cultural models of behavior, the expectation patterns which are the charters for action. But because it restricts the stimuli in order to provoke predictable responses, the investigator runs the risk of getting only stereotyped responses, and the informants often become acculturated to the questioner's categories. We can elicit imitative or predictive behavior, but learning about innovating behavior, the "techniques," or "what to do when" (Wallace, 1964, p. 19), requires that the informant have a chance to express himself freely. Unsolicited comments and anecdotes provided by the informants as they grew bored in the formal analysis were recorded along with the responses to questions posed. These data are fed into the model. 121 124

The second source of data—concrete cases which the informant has experienced in the past—indicates the range of variation in performance, the sources of innovation, and the development of strategies. This kind of information is supplemented by observation of the event. At this phase of the investigation, particularly if one is prepared by eliciting prior to the event, the ethnologist can see in the enactment of roles the nuances of gesture and pose which indicate affect. The emotional attitudes toward things, people, and activities, which often cannot be verbalized, become apparent in the performance.

If we accept the fact that there is not a single "homemade model" of the society (Levi-Strauss, 1962, p. 324) but several, we are prepared to probe the several levels of awareness present in the actors' mode of orienting to the world. At one level cultural understandings may be explicitly formulated, at another they may be implicit in language categories, and finally they may be derived only from nonverbal patterns of behavior. The informant's statements are inadequate insofar as they may stem from (1) ideological lag such that new behavior has not been assimilated in a cognitive frame, (2) inadequate generalization such that connections between related systems of thought and action are omitted, and (3) failure by the anthropologist to interpret what the informant was telling him. The anthropologist's model of behavior is a synthesis and elaboration of the in-

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formants' conscious understandings as well as of their subconscious patterns of behavior.

Description of behavior requires a theoretical approach to the problems of segmenting activity streams, selecting events, and ordering them. Too large chunks of behavior are not useful in comparisons made over time in the same society or between societies. However, because human (as well as animal) behavior is characterized by motivation and cognition (Tolman, 1961) we cannot expect to isolate minimal units which are invariant from one context to another. Verbs, as French (1954, p. 162) points out, are one-act plays in which a change of dramatis personae creates entirely new meaning. Furthermore, the symbolic weight of a single act varies; it can encompass the history of an institution, such as crossing oneself, or it can establish identification with a social movement, such as raising a clenched fist. However, for any behavioral schema, which I define, following Piaget, as component acts structured in an organized totality (Flavell, 1963, p. 54), it is possible to segment acts and assess their significance. In the major schema of the inauguration of officials in Tzo?ontahal, place, time, and roles are the bases for structuring related sets of activities.

Segmenting human behavior has been treated as either an actor-oriented or an observer-oriented problem. Pike (1954) and Adams (1962) rely on informants' advice to isolate the "behavioreme," whereas Harris (1964, p. 367 ff.) rejects the actor's statement of goals in favor of the investigator's own definitions of action units. If the "basic unit of action in the human body is purposive motion" (Burke, 1962, p. 61), then we must consider the meaning of action at the first stage of an analysis.[4] The anthropological observer's segmentation at this point injects cultural bias which stems from his point of view (Hymes, 1964, p. 14; Spier and Sapir, 1930, p. 217). Since our

[4] Most verbs used by informants in describing action patterns imply purpose. The informant says that he "eats," not that he raises food to his mouth and masticates it. The coding of motives and goals in the verbs underlines the importance of eliciting in the performer's own language. For example, when one observes the Indians as they enter the townhall, one sees them kneel and do what could be interpreted as crossing themselves. Asked what they do, the informants reply, "We measure our noses (*sp'is sni?ik*)." Measuring water (*sp'is ha?*) is another important ceremonial act. This suggests the possible ceremonial significance of measure in ceremonial performances. To assume knowledge of the act because of its similarity to Catholic forms might rule out suggestions requiring deeper probing. Cf. Adams' (1962) distinction between the reported and the observed act, and Barker (1963).

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informants cannot, fortunately, be relegated to the role of rats in the maze of their own cultural settings, I prefer the actor's to the investigator's statement of significantly contrasting units. I have found it useful, however, to retain both modes of analysis. Observation corrects for the shorthand statements of the informant, for his lapses of memory, or for inadequate knowledge. Even if some of these inadequacies are corrected by other informants, there remains the problem as to what is an individual understanding and what is socially shared knowledge. In addition, observation provides cues to the dynamic variables which enter into all social processes.

It is impossible, if not irrelevant, to recount all the behavior occurring in an event. Some of the selection will be fortuitous: we will record what aspects we observe. But not all of this need be included. For example, one would exclude the trips to the back of the patio to urinate by participants in a household ritual, but what might well be recorded is the etiquette with which they undertake these trips. In Tzo?ontahal, people carefully excuse themselves, saying, "I go before your face," specifying that they must urinate. Discretion requires explicitness rather than reticence in reference to such urges, perhaps because of the paranoic fears, particularly during curing ritual, that the one who is departing may be using counter-healing magic when he leaves the group.

There is no absolute rule to guide one in selection. In my own field notes, I note what is significant in terms of my own comprehension of goals being pursued. Having been cued into most of the activity in sessions with the informants prior to the event, I have

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some basis for perceiving actions significant to them. 121

Selection in the eliciting session is only partly controlled by the interviewer. The problem is not only to prod the informant for greater specificity, but to structure the recall by such devices as having him draw maps of person-place relations or kinship diagrams so that details will not be lost. As informants gain a sense of the problems being posed, they tend to become self-stimulating in providing information. 124

Finally, the problem of ordering a description of behavior is usually handled most efficiently in a chronological sequence. Simultaneous events can be described in terms of a sequence of activities occurring in different settings. This facilitates the analysis of time and space as designates of role relationships. 121

The analysis in Section 1 deals with the cognitive frame of reference concerning roles and relationships in the civil and religious hierarchies as elicited from informants using the method of formal analysis. Section 2 concerns the behavior in the ritual inaugurations of civil and religious officials in which these role structures are both exemplified and modified. Data are derived from the three sources defined above, i.e., expectations as to what will happen, performances in the past, and observation of the event in process. In Section 3 divergences between elicited and observed schedules (Appendices 1 and 2) are analyzed in terms of their significance for social change. Data derived from "informal" analysis, or unstructured interviewing of informants, are fed into the model. Finally, the behavioral data are summarized in terms of structural functional explanations and in terms of their implications for change. 121 128

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CHART 1 – CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS OFFICIALS

Officials in the Townhall	*Officials Who Link Townhall and Church*	*Officials in the Church*
Principales *(Krinaipaletik)* First Principal *(Ilu Krinaipal)* Second Principal *(Slobol Krinaipal)* President *(Presirente)* Secretary *(Secretarió)* Sindico *(Sindik'o)*		Fiscal *(Pilkal)*
Judges *(Alkaletik)* First Judge, Alcaldetik *(Ilu Alkal or Primoró Alkal)* Second Judge, Alk'alnatik *(Slobol Alkal)* Assistant Judge, La Grandeza *(Alkal Suplente Bolikal)* Assistant Judge, Madronal *(Alkal Suplente Mayoral)*		Mayordomos *(Martomaetik)* Cofrades or Brothers *(Kobrarietik)* Cofrade of Sacramento *(Kobraria Sakyamento)* Cofrade of Sta. Lucía *(Kobraria Halal He'tik)* Cofrade of San Pedro Martyr *(Kobraria Tatik Martil)* Cofrade of San Francisco *(Kobraria Sanfransiskó)* Elders *(Tanik)* Elder of Santiago *(Tanik Santiagó)* Elder of San Antonio *(Tanil Tatik Sanantonió)* Elder of Virgin Rosario *(Tanil Me'tik Rosarió)* Elder of San José *(Tanil Tatik Sanhosé)* Assistants to Cofrades *(Ali'bal Kobrarietik)* Assistant to Sacramento *(Ali'bal Sakyamento)* Assistant to Virgin Santa Lucia *(Ali'bal Halal Me'tik)* Junior Mayordomos *(Ni'nal Martomaetik)* Junior of San Pedro Martyr *(Ni'nal Tatik Martil)* Junior of San Francisco *(Ni'nal Sanfransiskó)* Junior of Santiago *(Ni'nal Santiagó)* Junior of San Antonio *(Ni'nal Tatik Sanantonió)* Junior of Santiago *(Ni'nal Tatik Santiagó)* Junior of Rosario *(Ni'nal Me'tik Rosarió)*
Regidores *(Rehirotetik)* First Regidor *(Primoró Rehiral)* Second Regidor *(Slobol Rehiral)* Third Regidor *(Yalobal Rehiral)* Fourth Regidor *(Slunobal Rehiral)*		
Policemen *(Mayoletik)* 2 First Police *(Primoró Mayol)** 2 Second Police *(Slobol Mayol)* 2 Third Police *(Yalobal Mayol)* 2 Fourth Police *(Slunobal Mayol)* 2 Last Police *(Spoil Mayol)*	Alferezes *(Alperesetik)* Elder Past *(Tat Pasaró)* Remains Past *(Šá Pasaró)* Second Past *(Slobol Pasaró)* New Alférez *(Al Alperés)*	

*Also called Mayomanoy.

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MY ELICITING PROCEDURES are described to make explicit the steps in constructing the informant's cognitive model. The first responses given by an informant are most often those which have the greatest significance within a structured system of priorities or of dominance. For example, informants in Tzo?ontahal invariably listed the officials in order of primacy. Another clue to the structuring of social relations is the omission of data in the first interview. This can mean either repression of information or lack of significance for the informant as an individual or for the society. These factors can be sorted out in subsequent interviews.

When asked, "What are all the kinds of offices in Tzo?ontahal," informants replied, "offices in the *kabiltu*, or townhall, and offices in the *č'ulna*, holy house or church. The question, "What are the kinds of officials in the townhall?" elicited the following three categories: *alkaletik*, alcaldes or judges; *rehiroletik*, regidores; and *mayoletik*, mayores or policemen. These categories are ranked relative to each other; for example, *alkaletik* is of greater prestige (*mas mamališ*, senior), *rehiroletik* next, and *mayoletik* least. Thus there are in the *alkaletik* category: *primero alkal*, first judge; *sčebal alkal*, second judge; *čeb suplente alkal*, two assistant judges. In the *rehiroletik* category there are: *primero rehirol*, first regidor; *sčebal rehirol*, second regidor; *yošebal rehirol*, third regidor; *čanebal rehirol*, fourth regidor. In the *mayoletik* category there are: *primero mayol*, first policeman; *sčebal mayol*, second policeman; *yošebal mayol*, third policeman; *sčanebal mayol*, fourth policeman; and *spoil mayol*, last policeman.

Cutting across this ranked hierarchy of officials are two geographical divisions; these align officials according to the side of the dual division in which they reside and which they represent. There is one judge from the upper division, *ahk'olnantik*, and one from the lower division, *alannantik*. The first judge is chosen in alternate years from one or the other of the two divisions, and so on for each rank of judges and regidores. There are two sets of five police, one from each side of the dual division serving in alternating weeks. The two assistant judges are chosen from the barrios Magronal and Bočibal. They never attain the first two positions. In addition to this regular ladder

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In addition to this regular ladder of officials representing the center and its close-lying barrios are judges representing the *colonias*, or rural settlements, of San Vicente, San Caralampio, and Crus Quemada. They do not regularly attend the townhall sessions, but always appear at major ceremonies and at the inauguration of new officials. Only after I had elicited officials from two informants was I able to get from the third the three judges of the colonias with the question, "Are there any other officials in the cabildo?"

These civil officials constitute the traditional ladder of the hierarchy. The positions of president and *sintiku* (in Spanish *síndico*), not included in the offices of the townhall as a category by informants, were elicited in response to the question stated above. These posts are occupied by younger men who are able to read, write, and speak fluently in Spanish. Literacy, until the present generation, was limited to those in the 30-year age bracket. Those with such skills passed immediately into the *comisario ejidal*, commission for land grants, where they assisted in the control and redistribution of land granted under the ejido program, or went directly into the post of *síndico*. Thus they were able to avoid the onerous and time-consuming functions of the traditional posts and enter into the remunerative post of president, where their authority was recognized at an early age. With improved literacy, the competition for such posts is increasing. Although informants say that the post of president alternates for the two sides of the dual division, case materials do not bear this out.

The only Ladino in the hierarchy is the secretary. For the first time this year (1964) the post of secretary has been taken by an Indian of the town. This is part of the power play described below.

Naming of civil officials is done in November, first in a closed session in the townhall at which each official names his successor, followed by a mass meeting *(Komun K'op)* at which the names are read to the assembled household heads in the plaza. To the question, "What are all the kinds of offices in the church?" the response was given: *martomaelik*, mayordomos or caretakers, and *alperesetik*, alferezes (or captains, the Spanish term *alferezes* comes from the Arabic). There are 16 mayordomos. Role terms for the mayordomos indicated that each saint was repre-

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sented by an elder *tatil martoma* and a junior *nič'anil martoma*, and that the 15 mayordomos were further ranked in terms of the four major saints, the *mas manalil* or more senior, whose mayordomos are referred to as *kobrwia*, cofradías or brotherhoods, and the remaining as mayordomos. The four *kobrwias* were ranked in terms of the importance and expense of the saint whom they support. The order for Tzo'ontahal is Sacramento *(Sakramento)*, Virgin Santa

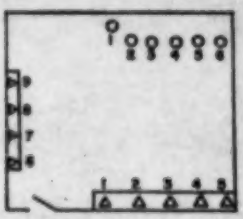

CHART 2 — EVENING, DECEMBER 31, HOUSE OF NEW JUDGE (ELICITED)

WOMEN (circles):
1 Woman speaker *(Me'il K'op)*
2 Wife of president *(Yinam Presivente)*
3-6 Wives of juniors *(Yinam Nič'anil)*

MEN (triangles):
1 Leading house official *(Sunal Nakawase)*
2 New judge *(Aj' Alkal)*
3-5 Assistants, sons of judge *(Balnialetik)*
6-9 Woodgatherers *(Aka'tetik)*

Lucia *(Halal Me'tik Santalusia)*, San Pedro Martyr *(Tatik Martil)*, and San Francisco *(Tatik Sanpranisku)*. There was complete agreement among the three informants questioned regarding this rank order, but for rank order of the 12 remaining mayordomos in charge of the 19 lesser saints there was no agreement between informants, and even the same informant was inconsistent in different eliciting sessions.

Outside the traditional hierarchy is the *pilkal* (in Spanish *fiscal*), who is the direct assistant of the priest and serves in an advisory capacity in charge of the church activities of the brotherhoods and mayordomos in the absence of the priest. This role was not elicited, but in my questioning about fiestas he was mentioned as performing a certain role. The incumbent in the past three years was serving as president for the third time, showing the scarcity of men with the needed literary skills. The fiscal is usually relieved of other posts while serving in office. Another set of roles external to the hierarchy are the *me'oletik* (or *rezadoras*, the Spanish term for female prayer-makers). These are usually widowed or single wo-

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men whom the lay sisters assisting the priest have organized to help carry out the Mass and other church rituals.

Another pair of officials, the *krinsipaletik* or principales, were not mentioned in the category "officials in the townhall" or in that of "officials in the church," until I questioned, "Who names the officials?" The response was, "Principales with the president." In order to arrive at the higher honorific posts of principal, one must serve five times in the civil and six times in the religious posts in the traditional hierarchy. The principales provide continuity in the transfer of authority, remaining in the townhall when the old officials depart to their homes, and passing over the staffs to the new officials (App. 1, Q. 28, 31). It is a position without power in the day-to-day administration of affairs. Although the incumbents occupy prestigeful positions and carry out ceremonial acts, many men avoid the office because of the loss of status in carrying out one of their most important acts, the collection of contributions for the major fiestas. The two principales must hold the plate into which the money is turned over by the police, and this causes "embarrassment." Formerly they were also bankers, holding the money until it was spent. This responsibility gave prestige to the act of receiving the money, now redefined as a sort of begging operation.

A ceremonial link between the civil and religious wings is the group of officers known as the *alperesetik*, alfereces. They are associated with the four major saints, who are also represented by the *kobrurias* of Sacramento, Santa Lucia, San Pedro Martyr, and San Francisco. Their rank order is determined not by the importance of the saint but by the order of entry into office. These are named: *tat pasaro*, the past "father"; *lil pasaro*, remains past; *sc'ebal pasaro*, second past; and *?al' alperes*, new alferez. They sit, move, and are served in this order wherever they appear. Although tied to a *k'ultat*, spirit father or saint, they function in the townhall in bearing the banners there from the church for civil affairs (App. 1, Q. 27), and they provide the post which is crucial for learning the set speeches useful in all formal occasions, called the *pas?ot'an*, 'behind the heart.' Because of the crucial nature of this speechmaking, no man can progress into the post of first or second regidor without having passed through that of alferez. This post is the most difficult to fill because of the high outlay (3000 pesos in one year of average expenditures, about half the

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average annual earnings of a man in this town); failure to accept the post when it is offered brings a jail sentence. On the following day, during a drinking session in the townhall with the assembled civil officials, the reluctant nominee usually accepts. 794 [434] [681] [273]

The civil career of an individual would be one in which he passed (*sk'as*, which I gloss as 'pass'; it is the same verb as Spanish *pasar*) first as police, then as third or fourth regidor. If he has passed as alferez, he will enter as first or second regidor at this stage, and then go on to second judge and finally become first judge. If not, he will stop as third or fourth regidor. After reaching the peak of his career as first judge, he may return to the police group as *martomorey*. Present leaders of the town consider this an "ugly" custom and say they hope to change it because it puts men of major age in a position of minor importance. Formerly men had to fulfill six turns in civil office, twice as regidor and twice as judge, to be considered free of further obligation. But now, because of increasing population (according to informants), this has been lowered to five required turns. The post which has been eliminated is that of assistant judge, which is now filled by a representative of one of the two barrios. 156 621* 554 693 [794] [829] 624 693 178 156

Throughout his career in office, a household head is expected to alternate between the civil and religious posts. Religious posts are considered less onerous since they require only six months of service, from the fiesta of San Pedro and San Pablo at the end of June until January 6, and the men are on duty only Sundays and holidays. A balanced number of six turns in each of the branches of the hierarchy was expected, prior to the reduction of the number of civil posts to five, to bring one to the end of one's career. In a census of 311 household heads made in 1964, passage in office shows a balance between posts undertaken in each wing of the hierarchy. Of 13 men over 70 years of age, five had completed service in civil and religious office. Three who had passed as president had served only once or twice in each wing of the hierarchy. The remaining five had a balanced but incomplete career. 621* 156 794 [125]

In the religious hierarchy, a man passes first as *niš'anil ǩuč ha?*, 'minor who brings liquor.' Then he will pass as *?ali?bal*, the assistant to the *ǩobraria*, particularly charged with the slaughter of the bull for the large fiestas. These "servants" were not distinguished from other mayordomos in the initial listing of officers, but were mentioned in the description of fiesta 794 554 156

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activities. Following this, he then serves as *tatil* of any saint of minor rank, then as *tatil* of San Pedro Martyr or San Francisco, followed by a turn as *tatil* of the *kobraria* Virgin Santa Lucia, and finally as *tatil* of the *kobraria* Sacramento.

The Tzeltal role terms in both the civil and religious hierarchies reveal the preconquest age-ranking system. This is evident in the use of elder and junior

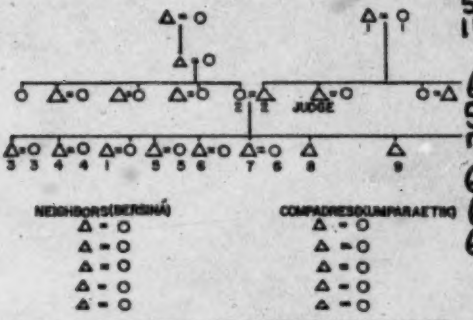

CHART 3 — ASSISTANTS AND PARTICIPANTS IN HOUSE FIESTA OF JUDGE (ELICITED)

Circles indicate women; triangles indicate men. For role term applying to number, see Chart 4.

titles for mayordomos (*tatil* and *nič' anil martoma*) and in the use of *mas mamalil* (more senior) for higher rank offices.

The informant's understanding of the hierarchy is that of a core of officeholders in three ranked segments (Chart 1). This is coded in the group terms for officials. Roles peripheral to the major categories such as those of rural judges, fiscal and women prayermakers, are elicited only with repeated questioning or with reference to some event in which they function. These roles differ from those mentioned first in that they are either of little significance to the individual informant (this would explain the consistent omission of the rural judge by the people of the center) or are not part of the required posts incumbent upon every male household head to undertake (this might explain the omission of the president, síndico, principales and fiscales in the first eliciting session). Structural principles made explicit by the informants are (1) hierarchical rank, (2) progression from lower to higher posts, and (3) territorial balance in representation of the dual division. An implicit corollary of passage through offices beginning with lower ranks is the age grading of officeholders. Other structural aspects emerged in the description of behavior, described below.

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INFORMANTS' SEGMENTATION of behavior in the inauguration of civil and religious officials is based on responses to questions in Appendices 1 and 2. The description of the activities is organized in

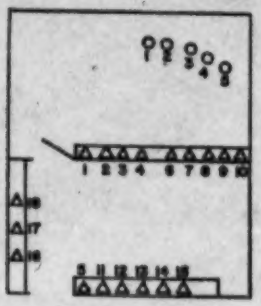

CHART 4 — MORNING, NEW YEAR'S DAY, HOUSE OF FIRST JUDGE (OBSERVED)

WOMEN (circles):
1 Woman speaker *(Me⁹il K'op)*
2 Second woman *(Slebal sme⁹)*
3 Third woman *(Yalebal sme⁹)*
4, 5 Women *(Me⁹elnik)*

MEN (triangles):
1-4 Nakawane
5 First judge *(Mam primeró Alkal)*
6 Second judge *(Alkal Slebal)*
7 Assistant judge of La Grandeza *(Hawe Suplente Bolibal)*
8 Assistant judge of Madronal *(Hawe Suplente Magronal)*
9 Assistant judge of San Caralampio *(Hawe Suplente San-karalampio)*
10 Assistant judge of San Vicente *(Hawe Suplente San Bisente)*
11 First regidor *(Rehirol Primero)*
12 Second regidor *(Rihiral Slebal)*
13 Síndico *(Sintik)*
14 Third regidor *(Rehirol Yalebal)*
15 Fourth regidor *(Rehirol Slunebal)*
16 *Ralnial*
17 Liquor pourer *(P'is Ha⁹)*
18 *Ralnial*

terms of settings and roles. For each segment of behavior an attempt will be made to analyze how the structural relations and values are spelled out in spatial location, mode of address, and activity.

The settings in which the change of civil officials is carried out are (1) the houses of the incoming officials, (2) the townhall, (3) the plaza, and (4) the church. In each arena, the validation and support of

the new officials are publicly defined before overlapping sets of participants and observers. Within each setting, the multiple sets of relationships which determine the individual's selection for a role are indicated in Appendix 3.

It has often been stated of Guatemalan and Mexican highland Maya communities that public office is an undertaking of the household. The precise dimensions of this support have yet to be defined in an activity context. Visitors and helpers in the household celebration provide one such context in which the parameters of the aid can be defined (Charts 2, 3, 4). Primary support is given by the official's wife, without whom he would not be serving in the hierarchy.[6] She serves him by waiting for him in the house, taking care of the money he might have to guard as a civil official, and watching him while he is drunk from the bouts in the townhall so that he will not harm himself by falling in the fire or be harmed by his enemies. His advisors and councilors in the household are the *nakawanchetik*.[6] These are men who have passed through some of the civil offices —at least those of *alferez* and first regidor—and who are somehow related to the new official.[7] A second group of supporters in the household serve as errand boys and assistants, the *balnialetik*. They are chosen from among brothers, brothers-in-law,[8] sons, *compadres* (ritual co-parents), godchildren, and neighbors. A third group are the *?ikoltawanchetik*, the fe-

[6] Innumerable instances attest to the significance of the wife in officeholding. For example, at the final ceremony in a betrothal, the boy is advised by his elders that now he will be called to serve the pueblo. Or, in the court case of a judge whose wife wished to leave him because he had beaten her, the other judges counseled her to wait until he had completed his term of office.

[6] The term *nakawanchetik* may be derived from the honorific prefix *nak*, found in other Maya languages (LaFarge, 1947). Another possibility is that it may be the stem *na*, 'house,' plus *kawanchetik*, tentatively glossed as 'officials.'

[7] In the case of the president (in the observed sequence) his father, who had passed through all the offices up to the first judge and had fulfilled his turns in the religious hierarchy as well, was the first *nakawan*.

[8] The term *bal* is generic for brother-in-law, *nial* for father-in-law, but whether this formerly had significance in the selection of assistance I do not know. At present, brothers-in-law are chosen along with others, such as godchildren or neighbors.

[P. 216-B]

Change of Officials

male helpers who are usually wives of the *balnialetik*, or widows who are part of the official's or his wife's family. A fourth group are visitors who come to congratulate the new official. Particularly conspicuous because of their Ladino or non-Indian clothing in the house of the president (Chart 6) were the visitors from the outlying rancherías and colonias of Tzo?ontahal.

Validation in the household setting takes place in two scenes. The first occurs on the eve of New Year. Each new official entertains in his house the men he has chosen as his *nakawanehetik* and as his *balnialetik*. Only those *balnialetik* who are immediately related come to this gathering. The *me?il k'op*, 'woman speaker,' is present along with the wives of the *balnialetik* (Chart 2). The house is decorated with pine needles and juniper boughs in the afternoon. The visitors arrive with wood and pitchpine to light the house at about eight in the evening and stay until the liquor is finished. Drinking order is from elder to younger, which coincides with the prestige ranking. The *nakawanehetik* are served, then the *nit'anil*.

The second household gathering takes place on the morning of the New Year. Major settings for such gatherings are the house of the first judge and the house of the new president. It is the duty of the fourth regidor to assemble the three other regidores, and of the assistant judge to assemble the other judges. The two groups, regidores and judges, meet in the first judge's house. They join the president at his house and then proceed to the townhall. The group of five police from *ahk'olnantik* meet separately in the house of the first police of that side, and those of *alannantik* meet in the house of their first police.

The assembled officials proceed to the townhall, announcing with rockets to the policemen that they have left. Gathered in the townhall, referred to in the formal address or *pat?ot'an* as the *sik na*, 'cold house,'[9] are the 'old officials' *(k'a hu'eletik)* along with the alfereces and the principales. They enter two by two, the president and síndico first, followed by the two first judges, the assistant judges, and the judges of the barrios and colonias. They kneel and 'measure their noses' *(sp'is sni?ik,)* as they enter, showing respect to the holy banners which the alfereces have delivered from the church.

[9] Bunzel (1952, p. 377) translates a formal speech in which the townhall of Chichicastenango is referred to as that "cold house, the icy house," but the Quiche word is not included. The pattern of double synonyms for nouns is present in these Quiche formal texts as in the Tzeltal.

[P 217-A]

reces have delivered from the church. The presence of the alfereces with their banners proclaims the link between civil and religious office.

The principales, now fairly inebriated after their long wait for the arrival of the new officials, pass out the staffs, assisted by the old president who helps direct them as they wander in a daze from the table to the new officials. The intoxicated state of the principales is never mentioned in elicited statements. The act of passing over the staffs is a significant index to their role in the hierarchy. As the only "permanent"

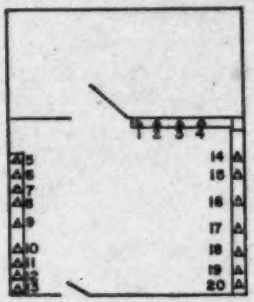

CHART 5 — MORNING, HOUSE OF PRESIDENT, NEW YEAR'S DAY (ELICITED)

OFFICIALS (all men):

1 Nakawane
2 President
3, 4 Nakawane
5 First judge
6 Second judge
7 Síndico
8, 9 Assistant judges
10 First regidor
11 Second regidor
12 Third regidor
13 Fourth regidor
14-20 *Balnialetsik*

incumbents—permanent so long as they are alive, healthy, and not impoverished—they are the link between the outgoing and incoming officials. When all the old officials have retired to their homes following the ceremony, and the new officials have gone on to the church, the principales wait in the townhall for the new officials to return for the afternoon drinking session in which they will join, as they had done in the morning with the old officials.

Wearing their rosaries, the new officials follow the alfereces out of the townhall in a procession. Holding the holy banners, the alfereces line up before the townhall, dip their banners, and proceed to the

church where the same reverence is accorded to the church. The order of the procession following them indicates the rank order of the officials, from the *spoil mayol*, the last policeman, to the first and second judge (Chart 9). The precedence of the first two

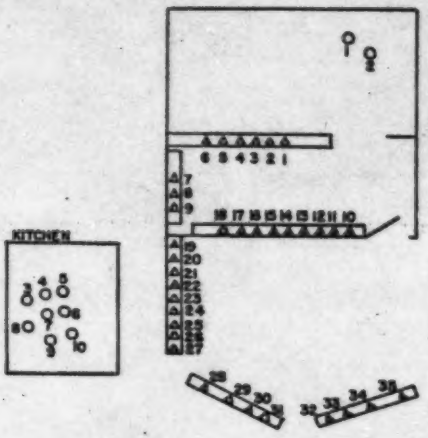

CHART 6 — MORNING, NEW YEAR'S DAY, HOUSE OF NEW PRESIDENT (OBSERVED)

WOMEN (circles):

1 Woman speaker *(Me?il k'op)*, comadre president
2 Second woman, neighbor
3-10 *Wanchetik*

MEN (triangles):

1 First Nakawane
2 Second Nakawane
3 Third Nakawane, brother of president
4 President
5, 6 Visitors from Colonias
7-9 *Balnialetik*
10 First judge
11 Second judge
12 First regidor
13 Second regidor
14 Third regidor
15 Fourth regidor
16 Assistant judge of Madronal
17 Assistant judge of La Grandeza
18 Assistant judge of San Caralampio
19-35 Visitors

judges over the president and síndico reverses that which was taken as they enter the church. There may be some permissible variation here, since the elicited version of the former president indicates that they should enter last. Possibly the threat of assassination (p. 223) caused them to enter before the judges as a security measure. The procession makes two turns

[P. 218-A]

"to show [the townspeople assembled in the plaza] who the new officials to remain in office are."

Awaiting the new officials in the church are all the mayordomos. Their function is "to watch the officials as they enter to see who they are" (App. 1, Q. 48, 49). The new officials "speak to God," asking for health so that they can complete their obligation to the town. They kiss each of the saints' pedestals and then leave the "holy mother church" to return to the "holy father townhall." There they spend the remainder of the afternoon.

The mayordomos go to the kitchen attached to the townhall. The first policeman directs the purchase of liquor and the measuring out of drinks for the ten policemen from the two sides of the dual division and the two rural commissioners. In the townhall the new president's first orders are to the fourth regidor to ask him to buy two liters of "the gift," liquor. The pardon to the ancestors, and the offering of the gift to the principales, is in the hands of the first judge, who knows the *pas?ot'an*, and can do the honors. The president is served following the principales in the round of drinking.

The change of religious officials takes place on the fiesta day of San Pedro and San Pablo, June 29, and on the day of the three Kings, January 6. This provides a six-month term of office. The new officials gather in the homes of the *kobraria* of Halal me?tik and Sakramentu, and in the church. Thus two settings, home and church, come into play with the change of civil officials, but the townhall, significantly, is not part of this act nor are the alferezes called into action.

The ceremony lasts three days: first day is *pas kantelero*, 'to make candles,' when the candles are cleaned, and the old mayordomos eat a "common meal" *(komun we?el)*; second day is *wiʔperes*, when the oath is taken; final day is *sk'ahk'alel*, when the new mayordomos play the drums or flute.

The first gathering, which took place the year I observed it in the house of the *kobraria* of Halal Me?tik Santalusia, was cut short because the *kobraria* did not have a porch, and it had begun raining. By local standards, a house without a porch is considered inadequate, and is called 'cow house' *(wakaʔ naʔ)* since the owner cannot accommodate guests on such occasions. The group therefore lingered longer in the house of the *kobraria* of Sakramentu.

The speech of the *nakawane* to the "elder new mayordomos" *(mamal ?aʔ martomartik)* (App. 2,

Q. 68) is a review of the major activities in which they will take part in the church. The phrase 'before the face of,' *ta sit*, is the orientation he indicates to the new mayordomos to perform these acts.

The ceremony in the church when the mayordomos receive their candles is limited to the few words of advice spoken to them by the fiscal and the passing over of the candles. There is no representation by the civil authorities in the ceremonial aspect of installation, although the fiscal, in his dual office as assistant to the priest and as president, indirectly takes this role. The alfereces, who provide the link on other occasions for the civil officers' inauguration, are not active during this changing of the religious officers. Following the ceremony inside the church, the town treasurer and síndico help the fiscal count the money passed over with each *kobraria*. Thus the "integration" of the hierarchy is asymmetrical, providing for a church representation in civil affairs, but only in a limited sense is there the reverse.

The mayordomos return to the house of the *kobraria* Sakramentu. The *nakawanchevik* have lost their place of honor at the *hol wanku*, 'head of the bench,' and are sleeping under the bench or in the corner. Their presence is no longer socially marked, and it is not a point which was elicited.

The behavior during the inauguration of civil officials showed the following structural features. The hierarchy of civil officials is not a smooth stepladder but a segmented order. The categories elicited in the first session with the informant—*alkaletik*, *rehiroletik*, and *mayoletik*—act in concert, move in unison, and sit in the same areas in all the settings (App. 1, Q. 14, 15, 51, 64–74). Each of the three categories has its internal hierarchy, ranging from first to fourth, physically denoted by the order in which they sit and drink. Those who speak the greetings are the men in the first position of each category. They order their group or the group immediately below them. Thus, the judge issues an order to the fourth regidor to get liquor (App. 1, Q. 55) and the first police orders the commissioner from the rural colonias to get liquor for their group (App. 1, Q. 79). In these behavioral indices one can see the segmentation of the civil hierarchy, ordered by age, skill acquired in the expensive office of alferez, and territorial identification. Age grading is absolute only between the segments, and is roughly applicable within each segment.

In the inauguration of the religious officials, elder and younger officials associated with each saint act

[P 219-A] TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 220-A

621*
554
693
293

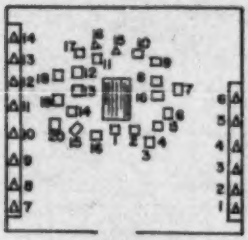

CHART 7 — TOWNHALL, NEW YEAR'S DAY, TAKING OATH OF OFFICE (ELICITED)

OLD OFFICIALS (triangles):

1 First principal
2 Second principal
3 Elder past alférez
4 Remaining past alférez
5 Third past alférez
6 Junior alférez
7 First judge
8 Second judge
9 Third judge
10 Fourth judge
11 First regidor
12 Second regidor
13 Third regidor
14 Fourth regidor
15 President
16 Síndico

NEW OFFICIALS (squares):

1 President
2 Síndico
3 First judge
4 Second judge
5 Third judge
6 Fourth judge
7 First regidor
8 Second regidor
9 Third regidor
10 Fourth regidor
11 First police *(Ahk'olnantik)*
12 Second police *(Ahk'olnantik)*
13 Third police *(Ahk'olnantik)*
14 Fourth police *(Ahk'olnantik)*
15 Last police *(Ahk'olnantik)*
16 First police *(Alannantik)*
17 Second police *(Alannantik)*
18 Third police *(Alannantik)*
19 Fourth police *(Alannantik)*
20 Fifth police *(Alannantik)*

NOTE: Canes of office are on table near center of room.

[P. 219-B]

as a team. Thus the junior *(nič'anil)* and senior *(tatil)* officials walk and sit in pairs. The senior officials order the junior. Just as in the case of the civil officials, some junior mayordomos may be younger than others who are in lower positions, because they have passed in the lower offices at an earlier age, but all senior mayordomos are older than their paired juniors.

Another important structural feature that became apparent in the behavioral schedules is the household base establishing the officeholders' position in both hierarchies. The new official learns his role obligations from the *nakawanehetik*, the group of elders

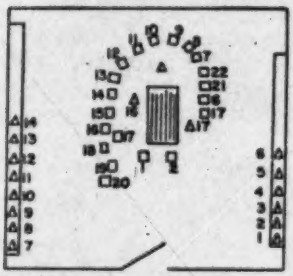

CHART 8 — INSIDE THE TOWNHALL, NEW YEAR'S DAY, TAKING THE OATH (OBSERVED)

Old officials are indicated by triangles, new officials by squares. Numbers refer to list on Chart 7. Three officials—the old secretary (17) and two new rural judges (21 and 22)—were not listed in the elicited session, Chart 7. Canes of office are on the table near the center of the room. Numbers refer to role terms in Chart 7.

who assemble in his house and who will assist him in his period in office. The ceremony in the house establishes this as a significant domain in public affairs. Relatives, neighbors, and compadres make up the interlocking network of supporters in the setting of the household. Both husband's and wife's relatives are symmetrically represented (Chart 3; see also J. Nash, 1964b, report on alferez assistants). Because of the expenses and the commitment of time during the period of office, the officials must have this backing to fulfill their obligations. A man with many compadres and godchildren has a firmer base to support his career in office. In the case of the new president, this was mentioned as an important asset by the president's brother. The guest list (Charts 3, 4) reveals the multiple references which establish the individual's role during any event.

[P. 220-A]

Change of Officials

The degree of integration of the civil and religious wings of the hierarchy can be described behaviorally. The following acts (App. 1) indicate this structural feature. 621* 794 182

Q. 24. The civil officials kneel and "measure their noses" as they enter the townhall in deference to the banners. [788]

Q. 27. Sacred objects, such as the holy banners of the *kobrarias*, are present on the table in the townhall as the officers take the oath of office. Officials carry rosaries as they accept oath and wear them in the procession to the church. [778]

Q. 28. The alfereces are present in the townhall to witness the ceremony. As bearers of the four major saints of the town, their role is primarily defined in a religious context.

Q. 41. Officials go to the church immediately following their procession in the plaza to pray for health to carry out their responsibilities. [782]

Q. 48. The religious officials are present in church on New Year's day to witness the arrival of new officials of the civil wing.

The alfereces link the two wings of the hierarchy in the following acts: 794 182

Q. 36. They carry the sacred banners to the townhall on the day of the inauguration.

Chart 9. They lead the parade of new officials of the civil wing.

Q. 28. They witness ("look at") the inauguration of the civil officials in the townhall.

Q. 36. In emerging from the townhall, they bow and incline their banners first before the townhall, then before the church. [788]

In the inauguration of the religious officials the only act uniting officials of the two wings of the hierarchies is that of counting the money (App. 2, Q. 90) when the town treasurer and síndico assist the church officials. The integration of the civil and religious wings in Tzo?ontahal is asymmetrical. The church officials as a group are involved in the civil inauguration, but the civil officials are only peripherally involved in the religious inauguration. 621* 794 182 [624]

Another behavioral basis for stating the dimensions of the civil and religious integration is found in the replication of symbols and acts in each inauguration. In taking the oath, the term *yič huramentu* is used in both settings. The staff as symbol of civil office has its counterpart in the candles handed over to the mayordomos. In both ceremonies, officials of the townhall and of the church wear red kerchiefs and carry rosaries when receiving the oath of office. 621* 794 182 782 788 [641] [292] [293]

Replication of behavior in both civil and religious 000

CHANGE OF OFFICIALS Replication of behavior in both civil and religious inauguration is also seen in the house ceremonies. Prior to setting out to the townhall or to the church, the new officials acquire a sense of the sacred obligations they are about to undertake from the words of the *nakawanchetik*.

The major behavioral schema are established in the settings in which activities occur. In each setting, the actors assert status in a social arrangement by their position in a physical arrangement: seating order clockwise from the door indicates rank order in all settings. The same act has a different significance in each setting. For example, drinking in the townhall differs from drinking in the house because it ties together different sets of actors.[10] As the actors move from one setting to the next, they are accompanied by some of the members linking them to the prior setting, as when the *nakawanchetik* accompany the president to the townhall.

The significance of setting in allocating roles is evident in the Tzeltal terms for categories of officials: religious officials are called "officials in the church" (*?a?teletik te ta ?ulna*) and civil officials are called "officials in the townhall" (*?a?teletik te ta ?ulna*). If my guess concerning the derivation of the term *nakawane* from house officials is correct (note 6), then this category derives its name from the locus in which authority is recognized.

The analysis of behavior, or roles in action, corroborates some of the understandings gained from eliciting the structure, but requires some modification. The segmentary character of the hierarchy is evidenced in the domain, action, and the timing of action. However, qualifications of the elicited model must be made on the basis of the behavioral data. First, the asymmetry of the links between civil and religious officials in the church setting as compared with the townhall setting requires a qualification of the meaning of the integration for the two wings.

[10] This adds a further caveat to the "behaviorist fallacies" pointed out by Lewin (1951, p. 79) when the psychological setting is ignored in the description of the physical dimension of an act.

[P 221 - A]

Second, the house ceremonials require the addition of this segment to complement the civil and religious structures so that we have a triadic set of officials—civil, religious and household—rather than a dyadic set as is usually described for Mesoamerican communities.

Agent, place, time, and acts, both verbal and motor,

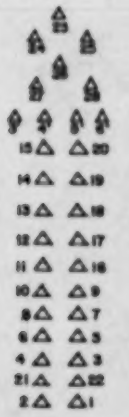

CHART 9 — PROCESSION, NEW YEAR'S DAY (ELICITED)

OFFICIALS:

3'-6' Alferecss
23 Guitarist *(alpulterro)*
24, 25 Firecracker lighters *(tomesr ti?bak)*
26 Flautist *(yomai)*
27, 28 Drummers *(stihik sk'oyobik)*

Remaining numbers refer to role terms in Chart 7, in addition to 21 and 23, rural judges listed in Chart 8.

carefully described, are the pegs on which comparative analysis can be hung. What we lose in literary value in ethnographic accounts, we may gain in making explicit the inductive bases of structural functional analyses. Once we understand the principles involved in the assignment of position or action in any setting, variations from the elicited and observed pattern provide clues to social change within small time periods.

[P. 221-B)

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzo'ontahal

MOST ETHNOGRAPHIC REPORTS on the civil-religious hierarchy emphasize status and the functional goal of community integration. What we have failed to impart is the dynamic aspect of status, role. In the divergences between expected and enacted patterns of behavior in those occasions when the individual

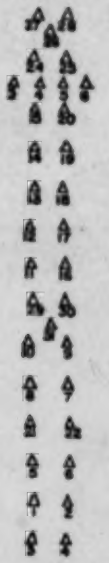

CHART 10 — NEW YEAR'S DAY PROCESSION OF NEW OFFICIALS (OBSERVED)

OFFICIALS:

29, 30, 31 Comisarios of San Vicente, San Caralampio, and Cruz Quemada

Remaining numbers refer to role terms in Charts 7 and 9.

"puts into effect the rights and duties which constitute the status" (Linton, 1936, p. 114), we have micrometers to the measurement of change. The details of change may be small—for example, a shift in the lineup of officials in a procession—but it may be a clue to important organizational changes. The behavioral changes in details of this sort provide cues to eliciting information that will explain the divergences. An important supplement to these cues are the unsolicited comments of informants. Sometimes

[P.222-A]

these apparently irrelevant comments reveal the power play going on behind the scene of the ritual.

The observed schedule for the civil inauguration (App. 1, column 4) differed from the elicited in four details. The first of these was an item omitted by both informants: after liquor was served in the house of the president, the entire company stood up and "turned toward the wall" (App. 1, Q. 20). When I questioned my informant, he corrected the orientation "toward the wall" and said that they were turning toward the east in deference to the leader of all the saints of the east, led by Santo Aẋio. He said that it was done in all household celebrations in order "to be sure that the devil does not enter." Belief concerning these saints is fragmentary, and perhaps because of this, behavior relating to them is not easily recalled. These behavioral sherds, when cut off from the belief system they once dramatized, survive in "perpetuating the custom of the ancestors" (*kič sluwar hič lik̨em meˀtikstaik̨*).

Another detail not mentioned by informants was the presence in the house of the president of the rural colonia inhabitants (Chart 6). This omission is typical of the neglect in reporting the activity or presence of anyone other than residents of the center. When I asked what they were doing there, I was told they came "to know the president."

Finally, an important divergence from expected behavior occurred when the schoolteacher, instead of the secretary, delivered the oath of office. This change was evidence of the schoolteacher's success in a factional struggle developing around new economic enterprises in the town. The former Ladino secretary was in close alliance with the former president and had supporters in the group of 20 co-owners, Indians from the village, of the truck when he had purchased. When the incoming president with his brother bought a truck with the assistance of 30 members of a truck-owning cooperative, a new focus for factional strife appeared in the town. The new cooperative was supported by the schoolteacher in his own bid for power. When the truck owners ran into any difficulty with the highway patrol, carrying wood or passengers without permit, the driver would refer them to the schoolteacher, who would then claim it

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was done at his order for the school.[11] The new co-operative was harassed by the old group, since the president did everything in his power to cut down their competition. As fiscal, his other role, he maneuvered the appointment of the chief business agent of the new truck cooperative and three other members as *niʔanil martomaetik*, junior caretakers of the saints. This meant that their Sundays were occupied in church affairs and cut into their taxiing of passengers from Tzo?ontahal to Himšol, the neighboring Ladino town.

621 * 578 474 494 [875] [622] [794]

The nomination of the president was effected by winning the support of the Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI). Supporters of the nominee secured over 85 signatures from townspeople; the opposition candidate failed to get more than 28. Once PRI support was obtained, the election on November 20 was assured since one-party rule prevails here as in the capital. This is the first election which has been contested in 10 years. The last contest came when some members of the barrio of Yut' hok became members of the minor party, Partido Acción Nacional (PAN). Because this group and their presidential candidate all came from one side of the dual division, Alannantik, those from the other side said that they should have a party representative. They drew up a plan to run a candidate on PRI. The PAN candidate won. The present contest was drawn on the basis of membership in the truck-owning cooperatives which cut across the dual division.

621 * 665 666 622 578 [474]

The present nominee did not want to run for office. Early in the running there were verbal threats on his life. He had never passed in any office other than that of president of the ejido commission, and although the office of president is not a rung in the ladder to office, it is expected that the incumbent would at least have experience as síndico. Three sources of opposition to his candidacy developed. First in importance was the original trucking cooperative, which objected to the competition of the president and his faction in the new cooperative. Second, these members spread the rumor that the new president would bring in federal agents to break up the liquor traffic, which was becoming one of Tzo?ontahal's most important economic self-development projects. Thus all the distillers were apprehensive of their future under his term of office. Third, there was opposition on the

666 622 578 666 622 578 474 548

[11] Siverts (1964) describes Ladinos' "competition for each others' Indians in Cancuc."

[p. 223-A]

Third, there was opposition on the score that the president had never passed in any other public office. The only incident revealing the discontent was the firing of eight shots at (or above) the president's brother following the house festival on the eve of the inauguration.

The principales, who "formerly were the ones who ruled," no longer have a part in the power struggle

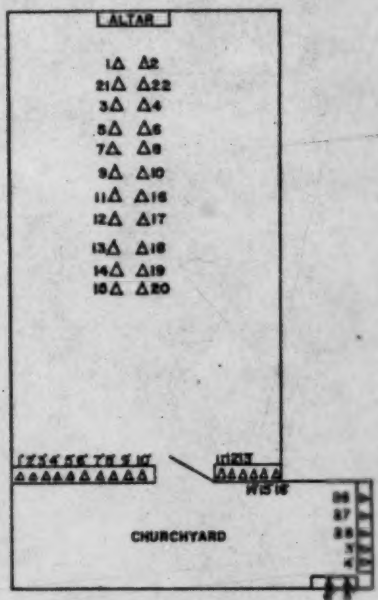

CHART 11 — NEW OFFICIALS INSIDE CHURCH, NEW YEAR'S DAY

OFFICIALS:
1'-16' Mayordomos

Remaining numbers refer to officials listed in Charts 7-9.

which centers on party membership and economic competition. Their ceremonial role in rituals is preserved as a link with the past as well as a sign of continuity between old and new officials.

In the inauguration of the religious officials, divergence in the elicited and the observed event (App. 2, column 4) occurred first of all in the shift of locale for the common meal from the churchyard to the house of the *?ali?bal* instead of in the churchyard (App. 2, Q. 19). This was a clue to the power struggle going on in the church. When I questioned my informant about the disparity, he told me the following story:

[P. 223-B]

Three years before [in 1961] my father was the *tatik* of Sacramento. One day he and the other mayordomos were drinking at the door of the church. The priest came out and demanded that they stop because this was the house of God. The *tatik* replied that it was the custom of the pueblo, and he and the other men refused to leave. The priest went back into the church and returned with a gun in his hand. The mayordomos seized wood which they had gathered in the yard of the church. They threatened the priest with this and he went back into the church. He announced that he would not give Mass, or perform wedding or baptismal ceremonies. We did not mind if he did not give the Mass or would not give weddings, but the people were frightened if he would not give baptism. The mayordomos had a meeting and they agreed to give up drinking in the church if the priest would continue to give baptism, but they

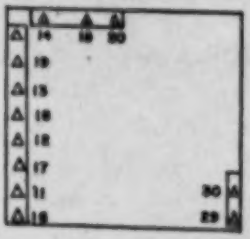

CHART 12 — KITCHEN OF POLICE, AFTER CHURCH (ELICITED)

Numbers refer to role terms listed in Charts 7 and 10.

would no longer care for the pigs or bring wood for the priest without payment. We pay him 15 pesos for an ordinary Mass and 40 pesos for a sung Mass, so he should pay us for help. The priest was in agreement with the mayordomos.

My informant had not realized that the ban affected eating in the yard of the church, but it was implied because liquor is served before the meal "to prepare the stomach" *(ya ʼital skoip weʼeletik)* and after the meal "to wash down the food" *(yaʼlel weʼelil)*.

The statement on who defines what performances, and in what setting, provides an index to the locus of power. The priest is gaining more control over the building, maintenance, and developments around the church. The mayordomos give at least a half-day's labor to the priest's projects each Sunday. When they cannot work, they must pay the elder *kobrario* two pesos for a half-day's work missed, or 4 pesos for a full day. The proceeds are used to buy liquor, which the mayordomos drink. Thus the social control is ex-

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Thus the social control is exerted through the traditional hierarchy, but the benefits of the labor go toward the priest's projects. The priest speaks with some satisfaction of the increasing control the "church" (he) has over the people. He maintains that this is because the people are more "civilized." For him, the indices to civilization are the facts that there is no drinking in the church, there is greater attendance at Mass, and more people are wearing Ladino clothing.

The second divergence in the elicited and observed accounts for the religious inauguration occurred when the civil officials, including the town secretary and síndico, assisted the religious officials in counting the money collected for the fiesta.

An important supplement to the behavorial data were the unsolicited comments of informants. Their anecdotes often gave me clues to their involvement in the gamesmanship of operating within culturally defined patterns. Although the informant focuses on the formal question, his growing boredom with the sequence (Who sat next to him? What did they do next? Who was there?) leads him to muse about the associated ideas and images which did interest him, often self-damaging or negative aspects of the culture which he might want to hide if questioned directly. The technique resembles that of the astronomer instructing the novice stargazer: "If you want to see the Pleiades, look at Jupiter, and out of the corner of your eye the nebulous cluster of stars of the Pleiades becomes visible."

The following illustrates how this free association emerged in the formal eliciting procedure:

Informant 2 constantly reiterated the danger his brother would encounter in undertaking the post of president as we discussed inauguration procedures. For example, when he gave me a list of participants at the Judge's house when his father took on that post, he mentioned the name of a widow, Cika, and provided the unsolicited information that her husband had been shot on December 16, 1963, the fiesta of Halal Me?tik Santalusia. Informant's statement: "He did not know he had an enemy, and so he walked alone that night. Each fiesta someone is killed. During the fiesta of San Francisco this year, another man in Bočibal was killed. No one knows why. He was knifed with a machete. I never go out alone at night because of the fights with the cooperative. They [the members of the opposing cooperative] are very hard (*ha? ben bolik*). They claim they will kill us."

What prompted the next revelation was my com-

[P. 224-B]

CHANGE OF OFFICIALS

ment, engrossed as I was in the task of eliciting the formal sequence of events, "Quiet, S.; let's get on with the fiesta." He persisted in what interested him. 124

Eleven years ago they [who? enemies?] tried to get me. I had a piece of land in hot country. My house here was not ready, but the wood was ready. M. C. a neighbor was jealous [*šil yo?tan*, 'saw his heart']. He had caused another neighbor's illness. He was my wife's *mu?* [literally 'brother-in-law,' in this case the informant's wife's ta's sis's husband]. He didn't have corn or beans. He was jealous because of my crops and the big house I was going to build. 124 578 [754] [601] [602]

By now I was asking questions and taking notes. I interposed, "How did you know?" 124 578

I knew because when I got sick, the curer (who was the dead husband of the widow who came to the judges' house) told me. The *cabron* (goat) witches leave their signature in the blood (*yak' hilel firma ta šit?*). Then I went to a curer in Chamula who confirmed it. 754 756

"How did he speak to you?" 124

In Tzotzil. Then I went to Las Casas. Another curer, also a Chamulteco, said, "Here is his signature in your blood. He is working alone." On January 7 I fell in bed. All month from January to the 19th of April I was very sick. I went to Cruz Quemada (colonia of Tzo?ontahal) where F. G. cured me. He burned candles at the curing arch and prayed. 578 755 756 [782]

"Whom did he pray to?"

The hills, the holy land. Then I got well, but I was very tired. My Swana [wife, Juana] told me "He is going to kill you." I had a rifle. I filled it and went out, but then I returned. Another day I took two measures of trago, took my rifle and went to his house. He was sleeping with his wife close to him in bed, the way we sleep here. I fired four times. The bullets went in his back and came out front. One entered the arm of his wife. Now people say of me I am a killer. I went to the townhall for the enquiry. The man's wife said the door [of the house] was open. She said she did not see me. Afterward I got well. If I hadn't killed him, I never would have lived. Now I am having more trouble first because of the cooperative, then because of my brother being president, and then the comisario. Let us see what will happen this year. If God lends us our life, there are going to be protests. We will walk with our pistols. Spet [wife of Ladino owner of opposing cooperative] gave 1000 pesos to a man from Magronal to kill me. 124 578 682

"How do you know?"

My compadre came and told me. Who knows how many deaths there will be!

[R 225-A]

"Why don't you call in the civil guard?" 124

They will say we are women, that we are afraid. My brother wants to, however. 578 682

He communicated several things in this deviation from the eliciting schedule:

Many assassinations are committed regularly in Tzo?ontahal.
They usually occur at fiestas.
The only recourse is to kill one's enemy.
I am a killer, therefore I am prepared to protect myself.
Everyone knows I am a killer.
When I killed, it wasn't a murder but an execution.

796 794 608 554

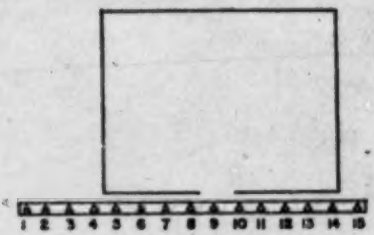

CHART 13 — HOUSE OF THE COFRADE OF THE VIRGIN SANTA LUCIA, FIESTA OF SAN PEDRO SAN PABLO (OBSERVED)

OFFICIALS:

1 Cofrade of Virgin Santa Lucia *(Kobrario Halal Me?tik)*
2 Elder of San Pedro Martyr *(Tatil Yu?un Martil)*
3 Assistant junior for Sacramento *(Ali?bal Ni?nal yu?un Sakramento)*
4 Assistant junior for Virgin Santa Lucia *(Ali?bal Ni?nal yu?un Halal Me?tik)*
5 Elder for the Christ of the Ascension *(Tatil yu?un Tatik Sanpransisko)*
6 Elder for San Antonio *(Tatil yu?un Sanantonio)*
7 Elder for Virgin Rosario *(Tatil Halal Me?tik Rosario)*
8 Elder for Santiago *(Tatil yu?un Santiago)*
9 Elder for San Jose *(Tatil yu?un Sanhose)*
10 Junior for San Antonio *(Ni?nal yu?un Sanantonio)*
11 Junior for Santiago *(Ni?nal yu?un Santiago)*
12 Junior for San Pedro Martyr *(Ni?nal yu?un Martil)*
13 Junior for Virgin Rosario *(Ni?nal yu?un Me?tik Rosario)*
14 Junior for San Jose *(Ni?nal yu?un Sanhose)*
15 Junior for Christ of the Ascension *(Ni?nal yu?un Sanpransisko)*

Since the informant expected that there might be an attempt made on his life in the approaching inaugural ceremony, he was advertising his own strength and willingness to defend himself even if it meant killing his enemy. I was an audience for him to try on poses of self-assertion. 124 578 [123]

[p. 225-B]

This kind of information, crucial to understanding the play in action, is not a controlled response. The stimulus which provoked it is unscientific, i.e., non-replicable and unpredictive (in this case it was "Be quiet").[12] The struggle for political office within the

124

000

[12] It can be contrasted with Skinner's control of behavior in evoking the response "pencil," in which first the request is made to the subject, "Please say pencil." If there is no response, one first makes sure that no pencil or writing instrument is available, then hands the subject a pad of paper appropriate to pencil sketching and offers him a handsome reward for a recognizable picture of, say, a cat. He is then forced to ask for a pencil. (Chomsky, 1959, p. 32.)

[P. 226-A]

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The struggle for political office within the community is a response to regional and national power centers. Behavior in this struggle is alien to responses controlled in ritual or structured performances. The strategies developed in these situations fit the pattern of political homicide more typical of the Indian towns of the central plateau (Friedrich, 1964) than of the highland Chiapas area.

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621*
178
156
[682]
[171]

[P 226-B]

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621*
105
794
178
18
[128]

I SUMMARIZE the evidence offered in the inaugural acts first in terms of a functional analysis of the ceremonial behavior and second in terms of structural and organizational changes revealed in the strategies of interaction. The following goals are attained in the rituals of inauguration:

1. *Preservation of continuity.* In the highland Maya Indian communities the problem of maintaining continuity is crucial because most of the offices

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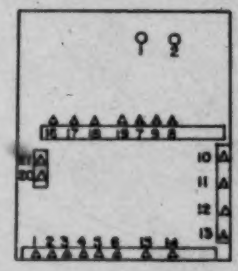

CHART 14 — HOUSE OF THE COFRADE OF SACRAMENTO, FIESTA OF SAN PEDRO SAN PABLO (OBSERVED)

WOMEN (circles):
1 *Me?il K'op*
2 *Sčebal sme?*

MEN (triangles):
16 Cofrade of Sacramento *(Kobrarix Sakyamentá)*
17 First Nakawane *(Sba Nakawane)*
18 Second Nakawane *(Sčebal Nakawane)*
19 Third Nakawane *(Yolebal Nakawane)*
20, 21 Guitarist *(Bálnial Alpultero)*

Remaining numerals refer to role terms listed in Chart 13.

621*
105
794
178
18

are changed simultaneously. The emphasis on continuity is evident, first of all, in the repetition of bodily and verbal performances. Repetitive behavior, the essence of all ritual, provides that fulfillment of expectation which assures participants in a performance of a link with the past. Bunzel (1952, p. 251) has shown that this familiarity of ritual "sets" in a variety of ceremonials provides linkage with the past in the inauguration in Chichicastenango. Repetition in behavior is reinforced by verbal references to perform-

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ing "what our mothers and fathers did" (App. 1, Q. 19; App. 2, Q. 37, Q. 64). Second, continuity can be seen in the presence of both old and new officials in the townhall. In this setting, the old officials acknowledge acceptance of the new officials (App. 1, Q. 28). Finally, of greatest importance in establishing continuity are the principales, who await the arrival of the new officials with the old officials (App. 1, Q. 28) who pass over the symbol of authority (App. 1, Q. 31), and who remain alone in the townhall for the return of the new officials, when they have gone to church.

2. *Role commitment.* The officials are members of closed corporate communities, integrated in a prior set of kinship and other social relations. They cannot rely on anonymity when acting in their official capacity as judge or policeman. Thus one of the functions of the inauguration as a rite of passage is a disengagement from the preexisting network of obligations and a commitment to the obligations of the office (cf. Parsons, 1951, pp. 80–84; Gluckman, 1962, p. 34; Cancian, 1964). Behaviorally, this function is indicated in the unfailing use of the term *Mam* (elder respect term) in both address and reference. The reference to the holy nature of their task (App. 1, Q. 19) and of the symbol of their authority, the "holy" staff (App. 1, Q. 30) which they always carry when discharging an official errand, establishes the supernatural authority on which the role is based. The effectiveness of these symbolic role identities in neutralizing prior affective commitments can partially be judged in that most dispute cases are brought before the local courts rather than referred to higher courts, suggesting that the complainant expects fair treatment.

3. *Role learning.* The inauguration provides a setting in which the individual who is about to assume office learns what is expected of him (cf. Fortes, 1962, p. 82). The instruction of the novice officeholder is acquired most importantly in the home from the speeches of the *nakawanehetik* and cofrades (App. 1, Q. 19; App. 2, Q. 37, Q. 38, Q. 64) and in the directions he may be given in the ceremonial setting (App. 2, Q. 39, observation).

4. *Introduction of new officeholders to the villagers.* The new status of the officeholders is made

public in the procession around the plaza (App. 1, Q. 39). The mayordomos gather in the church specifically to view the new incumbents (App. 1, Q. 50). There is less public display of new officeholders in the case of the religious officials than in the case of civil officials.

The morphological description of the structure of a society is inadequate unless it includes role behavior as well as status positions. The behavioral data pro-

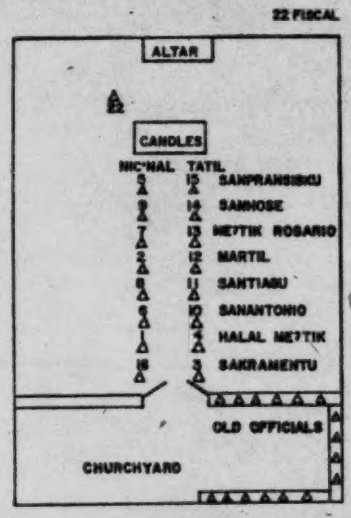

CHART 15 — NEW MAYORDOMOS INSIDE CHURCH, FIESTA OF SAN PEDRO SAN PABLO (OBSERVED)

vide the basis for describing the physiology of a culture, or how actors and social groups interrelate in carrying out tasks. In the inaugurations, the household emerged in the behavioral descriptions as an important ritual domain supporting the civil and religious hierarchy. Similarly, the asymmetrical relation between the role of religious officials in the civil inauguration and that of civil officials in the religious

[P. 228-A)

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inauguration is deduced from both elicited and observed behavior. These data complement the elicited material on structure in rounding out the ethnographic model of social reality.

Specification of the behavioral data on which structural and functional statements are made should provide the basis for more precise comparisons over time and between communities. I turn to the observed interaction to summarize the evidence for microchange within the community.

Outside of the formally prescribed behavior scheduled in the inauguration, a struggle for power is going on which is leading to important organizational changes in the town. This was suggested in the substitution of the schoolteacher for the former Ladino secretary in the act of giving the oath. Factional struggle of the leaders of the new enterprises was revealed in this substitution. Further evidence of change is seen in the redefinition of the president's position in relation to that of the principales. The potential power which the post offers to the incumbent and those who back him is now recognized. The risks are higher as the competition for the post increases.

In the religious sphere the priest's increasing control over the domain of the church is seen in the shift of setting for the common meal from the churchyard to the *?ali?bal's* house. This evoked the story of the open confrontation of the priest and cofrades a few years before. Public counting of funds by civil officials suggests an attempt by the new leadership to thwart the priest's dominance over the cofrades.

In the emergent struggle for power within the community, we see not just a defensive reaction to Ladinos by Indians of a corporate community, but a play for stakes in the same world. This suggests that the corporate community, now and in the future, serves not so much as an insulation from the outside world as in the past but as a springboard for the entry of the Indians into fuller participation in the national society.

[P 228-B]

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Appendix 1—CHANGE OF OFFICIALS IN THE TOWNHALL

	Question	Informant 3 General Description	Informant 2 Case: entry of first judge	Observation Case: January 1, 1965
*62 124 796	1. When do they change the officials?	On January 1, *?aʔ haʔhʔ* (New Year)	First of January	I observed the preparations for the New Year change of office fiesta in the houses of the president and of the new first policeman on December 31, 1964, and January 1, 1965
	2. What do they do first on the fiesta of changing of officials?	They arrange the house of each official	The wife of the first judge puts the bean tortillas on the fire	
[252]	3. When do they do this?	In the afternoon of December 31	In the morning of the last day of December	The women spend most of the morning and afternoon making the bean tortillas
[353]	4. How do they arrange the house?	They get juniper boughs and needles and put them in the house		Around 8 P.M. the visitors arrive. The house is decorated with pine needles on the floor and in the yard, and there are branches of juniper nailed to the posts of the house entry, just as it is done at the entry to the townhall. I was not present at the gathering
[602]	5. Who helps her?		All her relatives (*k-ermano-tak*) with neighbors (see Chart 1)	
	6. What do they do in the afternoon?		The women eat	
*62 124 796 514	7. What time do the guests gather in the house of the new officials?	On December 31 at 7 P.M.		
	8. What do they bring?	They arrive with wood and pinchpine	They bring wood or pinchpine	
[282] [242]	9. What do the visitors do?	They drink coffee with bread and bean tortillas	They say greetings. They drink coffee and eat bean tortillas	
[283]	10. What do they do when they finish the coffee?	They drink liquor	They take out liquor, and the judge recites the benediction	
*62 124 796 (693)	11. Who is present in the house of the new official?		*stotal nakawom*, his leading house official, Baltol Kantiron. The new judge, Santos Kantiron, *babtial*, assistants to pass gruel, sons of the new officials *ʔak sʔoik*: wood bringers (see Chart 2)	
[628]	12. What do they do first on New Year's day?	The fourth regidor calls everyone together	The fourth regidor raises all the new officials	

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Tzo'ontahal

APPENDIX 1—*continued*

	QUESTION	INFORMANT 3 GENERAL DESCRIPTION	INFORMANT 2 CASE: ENTRY OF FIRST JUDGE	OBSERVATION CASE: JANUARY 1, 1963
#621 124 796 693	13. What time does he begin to raise the officials?		He gets up early about 6 A.M.	
576 624	14. How does the fourth regidor raise the other officials?	First he goes to get the third regidor. Then they go to the second. The three go to collect the first. After all are together, the four go to the house of the first judge	The fourth regidor goes to the house of the third regidor. They leave and go to the house of the second regidor, then to the house of the first regidor. Then they go to the síndico's house. Leave and go to the house of the judge	
#621 124 796 693	15. How do the judges join together?	First the two assistant judges call on the second judge. Then the three go to the house of the first judge	The assistant judge for Ahk'olnantik goes to raise assistant for Alannantik. The two go to the house of the second judge. Then they go to the house of the first judge	I arrived at 9:30 at the house of the first alcalde. Present were the following (see Chart 3)
[292] 693	16. What do the judges do in the house of the first judge?	They drink liquor. They await the arrival of the four regidores	They drink liquor	Before serving liquor the first judge gave the benediction for the liquor *(paṗot'an yil smahtanil)* with the first *nakawane*. His godchild *ahijudo shalal nupunę*, of marriage, and his brother-in-law Lucian Kut poured liquor. He served cigarettes. Two liters of liquor were drunk here before going to house of president
[292] [576]	17. What do they do then?	They go to the house of the president (see Chart 4)	Go to the house of the president	Assembled company prepared to leave at 10:10. The first judge puts on his plain red kerchief. The assistant judges put on flowered red kerchiefs. First judge said goodbye to the *nakawane*. This formal adieu, the *spat lok'yo?t'an*. Regidores stood up and came out. Then the assistant judge arrived at the house of President 10:30. (Chart 6)
#621 124 796 693 576	18. What do they do when they enter the house of the president?	The first judge gives the *spat yo?t'an* with the first nakawane	The first regidor gives the *paṗot'an*	First judge speaks with *me?il k'op* who stood at door of inner room. The *nakawanchetik* bowed and kissed hands with the first and second alcaldes
[528] [539]	19. How do they give the *spat yo?t'anil* at his house the president?	They sing what they will do for the year	Holy evening, mamtat, your health. God how does He see you, mamtat. You are alive speak God holy evening. Behind your heart no illness I hear this holy evening.	(See Chart 6 for seating at house of president)

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CHANGE OF OFFICIALS

*621
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539

(Judge) I live. There is no illness. Lord mamtat give pardon with God with the Virgin Mother (*Tios sok Halal me?tik*). Enter holy pardon lord, give pardon Virgin M'other

Here we we gathered before you where is seated "our soil our mud" (our bodies). What are we going to do to make arrive to fall to happen holy New Year our patron of heaven (*kok-walnik*) God. Here in a little dawns the holy hour. Let us go look before our heart where we are going to receive the holy oath inside of the holy cold house the cold hall where we go to receive our suffering our work holy staff, holy wand. It is going to change, holy day, holy year. Thus we do as did in the past our mother our father

20. What do they do after the greeting?

They drink coffee

They drink coffee

*621
124
796
264
292
262
693

At 10:45 served bread set on bowl of coffee and bean tortilla in a cloth wrapping. First served *nakawanchetik* then president, then first and second judge, then first and second regidor, then assistant judge, then visitors. At 10:55 *nakawane* got up and stood before first judge and spoke the *spalan mas* (account of the gruel). Then the first judge spoke the *spalan mas* to second judge. The first two regidores of the past year came in to ask if the new officials were now ready "to raise the change"

(*K'a s?ábbat yak helel*). They said *pas?os'an* before the *nakawane*. Then bowed and kissed hand (*kus' ibale*) with all men in left interior. Went to door and spoke with *me?il k'op, kus' ibale* with her.

At 11:15 *balnialetik* took out the table, laid embroidered cloth on it, put 3 liters of trago and 2 quarts of beer. The first *nakawane* did the *spalanbe maktan me'il tatil* with the first judge standing before him. Then the first

*621
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[293]

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Tzo'ontahal

APPENDIX 1—*continued*

QUESTION	INFORMANT 3 GENERAL DESCRIPTION	INFORMANT 2 CASE: ENTRY OF FIRST JUDGE	OBSERVATION CASE: JANUARY 1, 1965
			judge got up and stood before the second judge and did the *spalambe xolitak tuxipal ŝ'in maktanil* (account to company for the little gift. He then went to the first *nakawane* with the *suk'inal* (good day greeting). Then all the assembled company stood up and turn to wall and gave the benediction to the gift of the ancestors
21. Why do they stand and turn to the wall?	Not asked—preceded observation	Not asked	So that the devil does not enter
22. What do they do after they drink coffee?	They drink liquor seated, resting their heart, in the entry of the house of the president	Drink liquor to await the hour they go to the cabildo	Two beers and 2 liters liquor were laid to rest. At 11:35 women came in to get liters of liquor. Put it under a kerchief and took it out to women in kitchen. Judges and regidores put on red kerchiefs. At 12 noon two judges got up and said goodbye, first to the *balsiel* then the first judge went to the *nakawane* while the second judge and two regidores followed behind him. Then together the four said goodbye to the *nakawane* and to the *me?il k'op*. Firecrackers were set off to advise police that the group was setting out on their way to the town hall. Police were to meet them at the townhall and had to be advised so that they would arrive at the same time. Two past regidores came to the *me?il k'op* and said goodbye. The group set out together
[23. Omitted.]			
24. How do they enter the townhall?	They enter two by two. They kneel and cross themselves at the door of the cabildo	They enter two by two, kneel at the door. They rise, enter, arrive, kneel before the *tatik* table	Pair by pair they entered and touched cross of banner with their rosaries. First the president and síndico then first and second judges followed by judges from Madronal, La Grandeza, San Vicente, and Cruz Quemada
25. Why do they cross themselves?	Because they show respect to the holy cross		

#62 124 796 [198]	26. What do they do in the townhall?	They take the oath		
	27. How is the townhall arranged?	The four holy crosses brought by the alferezes and the holy staffs are on the *tatik* table		On the table were 4 banners, new staffs, key of cabildo laid on orange leaves sprinkled about on table.
	28. Who is in the townhall?	There are gathered the old officials *(mamal k'a ku'elestik)* and the two principales *(mamal krinsipaletik)* and the four alferezes *(alperesil)*. (See Chart 7)	It is the old officials	(See Chart 8)
	29. What are the old officials doing?	They are seated conversing		
#62 124 796 64 [182]	30. How do they take the oath?	They take from the *tatik* table what they give the oath for—the four holy crosses and the four staffs.	Standing, the new officials call the name of God. They form a line before the banners	New president ordered new officials to form a circle around table. Then the mayordomos prayed holding rosary in hand
[273]	31. Who passes the staffs *(sbaratik me'niktasik)*?	One principal passes it to the other who gives it to the hand of all the officials.	One principal passes it to the other who gives it to the hand of all the officials. They encircle hand with rosary and take their staff	Two principales handed out staffs first to president, then first judge, second judge, assistant judge, regidores and police. The second principal was very drunk and had to be directed by former president
#62 124 796 641 875 539	32. Who gave the oath?		The secretary	The schoolteacher
	32a. What does the schoolteacher say when he gives the oath?			Gentlemen, by the will of the pueblo, the government of the state leaves us in charge of the officers before us. The president is in charge of the pueblo during the three years from this one on, 1965, -66, -67. This pueblo has the obligation of helping him in the organization of all his works. It has the obligation of respecting his command, and the authorities that are going to work with him also have the obligation of respecting him because he is the first authority. All of us who belong to the pueblo and all the societies have the obligation of respecting him just as the assistant authorities fulfill his orders because he is the primary authority. Raise the right hand, repeat after me: In the name of the government of the state with the honor that characterizes them I swear to fulfill with honor

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APPENDIX 1—*continued*

QUESTION	INFORMANT 3 GENERAL DESCRIPTION	INFORMANT 2 CASE: ENTRY OF FIRST JUDGE	OBSERVATION CASE: JANUARY 1, 1965
¥621 124 796 64 [815]			and enthusiasm what the constitution commands us. I want in this moment, under the oath, to designate the position of municipal president of the pueblo
[530] 33. How did new officials respond to oath?			Officials raised hands with rosary in it. Then they put rosary on their necks
¥621 124 796 34. What do they do after the oath?		Pass over the papers with the acts, with all the things	Take inventory of communal possessions—5 chairs in bad estate, 2 *cadigo viejo*, etc.
35. Who takes inventory?			The past president
¥621 124 796 [533] [788] 36. What do they do after they take their staffs the new officials?	The four alferces go out with their banners	The alferces go out in a procession with the banners	First alferez came to table, crossed himself, kissed banner with kerchief bound on handle, unfurled banner. He followed with second, third, and fourth alferces. Flute and drum began as alferces came out. They turned and faced the townhall. Inclining banners the police went out, knelt, crossed selves at door. Then the registers, then president, then *síndico* and judges
¥621 124 796 788 37. What time did the procession begin?			1:05
38. What did the procession look like?	(Chart 9)		(Chart 10)
39. How many turns do they take?		They take two turns where the fruit is sold (reference to pleza during a ceremony)	Two turns (started behind school house but old *señor* redirected them)
40. What did the alferces do?			At door of the townhall, drew up horses facing it, dipped banners. Same at church
41. Where does the procession go?	To the church	They go to the church	They enter the church
¥621 124 796 [624] 42. Who remains at the townhall?		The officials come out, leaving all the townhall silent except for the two principales who will await the new officials	The two principales remain within
[782] [794] 43. What do they do in the church?	All the officials speak to God (Chart 11)	They speak to God. They kiss all the saints	They pray at the altar, then kiss the saints as they leave. The alferces leave their banners in the church

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CHANGE OF OFFICIALS

#62 124 796	44. Where do the old officials go?	To the house of the old president or to the house of the former first judge		
	45. What do they do there?	They go to say goodbye		
	46. What do their hearts say?	Their hearts are very sad		
	47. Why do they kiss all the people present?		Because they want a miracle in order that there be no illness to pass in office	
#62 124 794 796	48. Who is in the church?	The mayordomos are in the church		The mayordomos sit at the bench in back of the church
	49. What are the mayordomos doing?	They are seated at the door of the church. They watch the new officials enter the church		
	50. Why are they seated in the church?	In order to know who will be the new officials to see *(ya lʔil)* in the townhall		
#62 124 796	51. Where do the new officials go when they come out of the church?	The new police enter inside the kitchen (Chart 12). The president enters inside the townhall	Leave church and pass to the townhall	The police go to the kitchen attached to the townhall and the rest of the officials go into the townhall
(539) (693)	52. What does the president say to the two principales inside the cabildo?	"Where are you, *Mamal principal*?"	First judge gives *patbeyuʔ'an* with the two principales. "Good day, tat. How does God see you, tat. Now you have taken your heart, has spoken your heart. Now you have been before the face of the motherfather. Where you take the holy oath inside the holy cold house, holy cold abode. You saw the procession in the plaza before the temple and inside the holy mother church for the commander lord. There is no fear, no embarrassment. That is all. Go rest your heart	[I was not present for these sessions]
	53. What does the principal reply?	"Enter, Mr. new president *(mamal ʔal' presirente)* and enter, Mr. New judges *(mamal ʔal' alkalesik)*"		
#62 124 293 796 693	54. What do they do then?	They sit a little each in his own chair	They sit down. They begin to drink liquor	
	55. What do they do after they have rested their heart a little?	The first judge and the president order the fourth regidor to go get a liter of rum		
	56. For whom do they get the liter of the gift?	For the new officials		
	57. What do they do with the gift when the regidor arrives?	They put it in the middle *(ta yoliʔ k'omax)*		

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APPENDIX 1—*continued*

	QUESTION	INFORMANT 3 GENERAL DESCRIPTION	INFORMANT 2 CASE: ENTRY OF FIRST JUDGE	OBSERVATION CASE: JANUARY 1, 1963
462 124 796 539 693 273	58. What do the principales say to the first judge in the cabildo on the New Year?	They give the *epaleyo?k'an*		
	59. What does the judge say when he gives the gift to the principales?	"Give pardon, mamal *kvinajpal*. Let a little enter to give warmth to your body"		
	60. What do the principales say?	"Thank you, *tuvo mamal alkal, mamal preziente, mamal slonikyo*"		
	61. What does the judge say?	"Pardon and let a little drink warm your body"		
	62. What does the judge say to the regidor?	"Lend me your hand, *mamal rekiral slomebal* (second regidor). Look, pour the gift of the ancestors (*mo?tikpanik*) for the *mamal kvinajpalnik*"		
	63. What does the fourth regidor say as he pours the gift for the principal?	"With your permission, *mamal kvinajpal, mamal ?alkalnik*, I look and give the gift"		
462 124 796 693 273	64. Who drinks first on New Year in the townhall?	The two principales		
	65. Second?	President		
	66. Third?	Síndico		
	67. Fourth?	First judge		
	68. Fifth?	Second judge		
	69. Sixth?	Third judge		
	70. Seventh?	Fourth judge		
	71. Eighth?	First regidor		
	72. Ninth?	Second regidor		
	73. Tenth?	Third regidor		
	74. Eleventh?	Fourth regidor		
	75. What do they do after the first round of drinks?	They continue drinking until they get a little drunk		
	76. What happens at noon?	They close the doors of the townhall		
	77. What do the police do in the kitchen?	They enter and sit on a bench		
	78. Where do they sit?	(Chart 11)		
	79. What is the first order that he gives the first new police?	He sends the fourth police to bring a little liquor		
	80. What do they do when the fourth returns?	He orders a police of the colonia to "measure" the liquor		

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CHANGE OF OFFICIALS

*62 124 796 213 81. What do they do after the commissioner of the colonia measures the drink?	The first police of Alananantik gets up and speaks a little with the first police of Ak'olnantik	
82. What does he say?	He gives the *spatbe yo?t'an*	
83. What time do they finish the celebration of New Year's?	12 o'clock noon	
84. What does he say after the *spatbe yo?t'an*?	He asks if they can endure a little more	
85. What do the police think?	They ask whether they can endure a little more without getting drunk. "What happens if we get drunk? We won't know if there is an errand for the *mamal ?alkalcatik* and we might not be able to help. Better to rest the heart a little. If there is an errand we can help a little and so it is. If there is no errand, let us stay till noon."	
86. What do they do then?	They finish a little more. Then after a little all go out because it is midday. Each one goes to his house to rest the heart and until tomorrow	Drinking continued until sundown

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Appendix 2—Change of Officials in the Holy House

Question	Informant 3	Observation
794 796 124 1. What is the first day of the fiesta called?	*Pas Kantelero*, 'Making the candles'	
2. What do the mayordomos do first on Paswamal of the fiesta of San Pedro and San Pablo?	They scrape the candles	At 9 A.M. the mayordomos were gathered at the door of the church, scraping the candles. The wax was carefully gathered. It will be melted down to make more candles, but not for ceremonial purposes.
[533] 3. What else do they do in the morning of Paswamal?	Two mayordomos beat the drum and one blows the flute	Music was provided by two mayordomos beating drum and one blowing flute
4. Where do they scrape the candles?	Inside the church	In the courtyard of the church
5. Where do they blow the flute?	At the door of the church	On the benches near the door of the church
6. What else is done on the morning of Paswamal?	They sweep out the church	They sweep the church
[824] 7. What else is done on the morning of Paswamal?	Nothing. Formerly they bought juniper needles to put on the floor inside the church but now they do not	
8. Why don't they bring pine needles now?	Because now the floor of the church is well finished with pure cement	
9. What do they do after they finish scraping the candles?	They count the money	The fiscal spent the morning sitting on the benches outside the church with the elder mayordomos watching the counting of money
10. What day do they collect the money?	On Sunday, eight days before the fiesta of San Pedro	
11. Who collects the money?	Two kobrarias	
12. How much do they collect from each mayordomo?	Two pesos each	
13. Why do they collect the money?	For the price of the candles	
14. Who counts the money to buy the candles?	Two kobrarias with the fiscal	
794 796 15. What do they do at noon?	They ring the bells. They all begin to drink liquor (*ya?alik*)	They ring the bells. Then they go to the house of the *?ali?kal*
293 124 16. What do they call the first drink at midday?	One measure to make the food go down (*sko?ip ave?elatik*)	
17. What do they call the drink after the meal?	Water for the meal (*ya?lel ave?elil*)	
18. How many liters of liquor do the mayordomos drink on Paswamal?	Two liters	

794			
796	19. Where do they drink it?	Behind the church	In the house of the *?ali?bal*
124	20. Where do the old mayordomos eat the common meal?	In the church	In the house of the *?ali?bal*
[273]	21. What do they eat?	Male turkey (*mam k'ux*). Beef soup with tortillas and chile	
[260]			
262	22. How do they prepare turkey?	With chile, *yerba buena* and salt	
263	23. Who prepares the meal for the fiesta of San Pedro and San Pablo?	The *?ali?bal*. The wife of the *Bik'tal* (minor) mayordomo of San Pedro and San Pablo	
[258]			
	24. What do they do after the common meal?	They go to their houses	They go home
	25. What do they call the second day of the fiesta?	Wilperel	
	26. What do the old mayordomos do first?	They make a fiesta. They beat the drums. They play the flute. They drink trago	They ring the bells three times. The people gather in the church
	27. What time do they begin the fiesta?	Early	At 7 o'clock
	28. What do they do in the church?		The padre gives a Mass for San Pedro and San Pablo
	29. Who collects for the Mass?		The old officials and the new officials and the women
[533]	30. Where do the mayordomos blow the flute and beat the drum?	At the door of the church	In front of the church
	31. Where do the new mayordomos gather first?	At the house of the kobraria Santa Lucia	At the house of the kobraria of Santa Lucia
	32. What do they do first?	They take out the mouthwash	They serve the mouthwash
[273]	33. What do they do then?	They take out a liter to drink	They serve coffee and corn gruel. Then they serve liquor
[272]			
[262]	34. How much do the new mayordomos drink?	Two drinks each	After two rounds are served, drink is served to the mayordomos who go to the *nahawom k'ots'* and offer their drinks. This is done so that the new officials will not be drunk in church
[273]			
	35. How many of the new mayordomos don't drink liquor?	Three	
[272]	36. What do they drink?	Cold water (soda)	
124	37. What does the kobraria of Santa Lucia say to the kobraria of San Pedro Martyr at his house when they begin to drink?	Good day, Mamal Tat, Thank you. How do you look, Mamal. Thanks you are alive, his word God, at daybreak. We want to see no illness at daybreak. What we will do what we have done. We have to say what our heart says, our soul, our mind. So it is as we did in the past. We are all together as are the old officials where we hear and see with our eyes. Where are we on the very day of his fiesta our saint and our Judge Sanpegro sanpablo? So it is that we
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APPENDIX 2—*continued*

QUESTION	INFORMANT 3	OBSERVATION
	are here and that we are united in *front* of the house. Pardon us, it is not much, *me'el totel*. Where we are gathered together there is nothing flavorful nor is there much. It is only a little to warm your body, of the water to wash his body his hand our old saint San Pedro and San Pablo. God thank mother and father (*me'a to tat'a*) mam kahvario	
38. What does the kahvario of Santa Lucia say to the Tzotil Sanpagro Martil and the mayordomos when they all go out?	What are we thinking? How shall we rise to enter the house of kahvario kahvanomo? How is it he wants us not to drink? It is good we would not remember. It is enough. If you will remember you will say little, mayordomos. Are we not ready with our rosaries, with our kerchiefs, for candles? Is there anything you want to say?	
39. What does the kahvario of San Pedro Martyr say?	It is good, I am going to say. Now I am going to say to all if you are ready with your rosary with your cloth to take the holy candles	The mayordomos put on their rosaries and red kerchiefs
40. What do the mayordomos reply?	Yes, good, we are ready thank you. It is only this more I say to you	
41. What does the kahvario say then?	Do not drink much tragu. I do not want you to walk like a mad man (*luk 'alel likkel*). I do not want you to say the kahvario said nothing	
42. What do the mayordomos reply?	Yes, thanks. It is good. Let us go now. Let us raise our mind our will	
43. Where do they go then?	To the house of the kahvario of Sacramento	To the house of the kahvario of Sacramento
44. What do they say there?	"Good day *mamal*," saith mam	Good day, *mamal tat*
45. What time do they go to the house of the kahvario of Sacramento?	At 8 o'clock	9 A.M.
46. In what order do they speak to the people at his house the kahvario of Sacramento?		First to the two *kahvals*. Then to the third *nohjovomo*. Then to the second *nohjovomo*. Then to the first *nohjovomo*
47. What do they say after the *nohjmal*?		The kahvario of *Halal me'tzik* gives the *spat yo'ton* with the first *nohjovomo*
48. What (does he say) after *spat yo'tonal*?		He goes to give account to the old woman who nursed us (*me'Pohjomil*) who is the *me'il k'op* in the house

794 796 124

49. Who is the woman speaker?

She is the first older sister of the mother of the mam kobraria. She has the same mother and father as the father the mam kobraria

50. Who are the women inside the house of the kobraria of Sacramento?

Two or three sisters of the kobraria

51. What do his sisters (*yermanonik*) do inside his house?

They sit on the bench on the porch

52. What do the mayordomos do after the account with the *me'Pakalaletik*?

They sit on the bench on the porch

53. What does the *nakawanej* do?

He tells the *balwinal* to take out the mouthwash

54. What do they give after the mouthwash?

First the coffee with the lean tortillas

55. What do they give after the coffee?

They give another mouthwash

56. What do the *balwinletik* do after the mouthwash?

They take out the table with the cloth

[273] 57. What do they do then?

They take out 2 or 3 liters of trago with the measure and a little cold water

58. Who orders the women inside?

Me'Pakalal

59. What do they do before they begin to drink?

The kobraria of the Virgin of Santa Lucia gives the *spatic yo'tan* He rises to ask permission before the *me'Pakalaletik*, all the mayordomos and all the *balwinletik*

[539] 60. What does the kobraria of the Virgin of Santa Lucia say then?

God, mother who nurses us, give permission to us. The water of his body the water of his hand, the gift will pass in your body that which is the mothers' fathers' (*me'tikxanik*). God speaks, *tat nakawanchetik* and *balwinletik*. Give us permission to hand the gift that will pass in your body from the *me'tiktatik*. God, Jesus, Mary, only one commander god is three persons. Bless what we eat and what we drink and bless in the name of god the father. God take the gift, *me'el xanel*

61. What do they do then?

The mayordomos, *balwinletik* and *nakawanetik* measure their noses.

62. What does the *me'Pakalal* say?

God thank Manal Tat

63. Then what does the kobraria of the Virgin Santa Lucia say?

He gives the benediction to the liquor

[539] 64. What is the benediction?

In God's name, God father, name of God, God son, Holy spirit. Yes, I can endure to do what they did, that which the mother, which the father

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APPENDIX 2—*continued*

	QUESTION	INFORMANT 3	OBSERVATION
794 796 124 [539]			did with the hand which has sinned, the feet which have sinned. Yes, I am changing holy day holy year, holy saint holy oath and the name of the god the father
[213]	65. How much do the mayordomos drink?		They drink four measures. After four measures they do not finish and give the rest to *mamal nokawomeketik*
	66. Why do they do this?		Because it is said they may get drunk at the hour to go to church
	67. What time do they go to the church?	At 10 o'clock	At 11 left for church. Put on red kerchiefs, rosaries
[539]	68. What does the *nokawome* say to the new mayordomos as they leave to go to church?		May you all get up and go to the church. May you all enter inside the church. May you take the oath inside the church before the face of the fiscal. After you take the oath you measure the nose in the face of the *tatik* Jesus Christ. After you have measured the noses, when you enter inside the door of the church the mamal new kobraria speaks the *palenketik* to the mamal old kobraria
	69. Who is at the church?	The old mayordomos	The old mayordomos are seated at the door of the church
[538]	70. What are they doing?	They are awaiting the new mayordomos	They play the drum and the flute
	71. How do they take the Asensonte (oath)?		They enter and kneel each pair, *tatil* and *nit'anil* in front of *tatik* Jesus Christ.
	72. How do they stand?		(Chart 15)
	73. How is the church arranged?		There is a large table with the candles lined up. In the middle of the table stands a little holy Jesus hung on the cross
	74. Who is inside the church?		The priest, the fiscal, the old mayordomos
	75. What does the priest do?		He gives the Mass. He blesses the new and the old mayordomos
	76. What do they do after the blessing?		The fiscal gives the candles wrapped in a napkin
	77. How many candles does he give to each mayordomo?		Nine candles
	78. What are the candles for?		To light for the saints
	79. What does he do with the candles?		Goes and puts them in the elder officeholder's house. Returns and gets his own to bring to his house
	80. Where do they go after the oath?		To the house of the kobraria of Sacramento

794	81. What do they do?		They drink
796	82. What time do they leave his house?		Prayer time *(oracion)*
124			
[293]	83. Where do they go?		To their house
	84. What do they do first on *sk'ak'alel*?		Go to hear Mass
	85. Who is in the church to hear Mass?		All the new mayordomos, the women, the prayer leaders
	86. What time is the Mass?		At 7 o'clock
	87. What do they do when they come out of Mass?		Go to the house of the kobraria of Sacramento
	88. How many go?		Thirteen
	89. What do the rest do?		Three juniors *(sal'anil)* remain play drum at door of church
	90. What do they do at the house of the kobraria of Sacramento?		Count the money of the Virgin and San Pedro Martyr
[426]	91. What do they do with the money?		They want to lend it in order to get interest because they want to increase it *(ya sk'an smakonik ya'un ya'be sol ya'un sk'an solin hilel)*
	92. How much money is there for the virgin?		Two hundred twenty-eight pesos
[624]	93. Who counts it?	Fiscal with two kobraria	The town treasurer, the sindico and secretary assisted the fiscal in the accounting of funds. The principales sat on the bench to observe proceedings
	94. How much money is there for San Pedro?	Forty pesos	
[624]	95. What do they do after they count the money?	Begins the *pat'ot'an* with the kobraria of Sacramento	The principales recite the *pat'o't'un* with the kobraria of Sacramento
[539]			
[293]	96. What do they do afterward?	They drink liquor	They drink liquor

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APPENDIX 3A—SUMMARY OF SETTINGS, ROLE, AND BEHAVIOR IN CIVIL INAUGURATION

SETTING	ROLE (terms in capital letters refer to groups)	RELATIONSHIP	BEHAVIOR
#621 105 192 554 573 [574] House, evening of inauguration	*ʔAČ'ʔTEL*, new officials	Ego	Receives guests, sits next to leader *nak'awom*
	NAKAWNEHETIK, house officials	Father of new official or elder of neighborhood who has passed in higher offices (first regidor and elder mayordomo)	Initiates greetings; sits in head seat
	BALNIALETIK, assistants	Sons of new officials, husbands of daughters or of sisters	Serve food, measure drinks
[608]	*ʔAK'SIETIK*, wood gatherers	Neighbors, compadres, brothers	Bring wood, eat, drink
	MEʔELETIK, Meʔil K'op, woman speaker Yinam, wife	Mother, or elder relative	Responds to *nak'awom's* greetings
	SKOLTAWANEHETIK, helpers		Serves food. Cook food, dish out food, eat
#621 105 192 554 [593] House, morning of inauguration	*NAKAWANEHETIK*, house officials	Father and/or elder neighbors	Initiates greetings, addresses blessing to liquor
	AʔTELETIK ALKALETIK REHIROLETIK, judges, regidors	Men of village	Receive food and liquor
[602] [608]	*BALNIALETIK*, assistants	Brothers-in-law, godsons, compadres, fa's sis's sons, brother, comadre's son, neighbors	Serve food, measure drink
[594]	*YULATAK*, visitors	Men from rural colonias	Give *abrazo*, embrace, to new president, eat, drink
	MEʔELETIK, women Meʔil k'op Slebal Smeʔ Yolebal Smeʔ	Mother or elder relative ? ? ?	Responds to *nak'awom's* and *alkal's* greeting. Orders women in serving of food
	SKOLTAWNEHETIK, helpers	(See Chart 3)	Cooks food, dishes out food
Townhall, morning session, civil inauguration	*K'AʔAʔTELETIK*, old officials	Men of village	Drink; wait for new officials seated
[594]	*ʔALPERESETIK*, alferces	Men of village	Bring banners from church, drink wait for new officials

	KRINSIPALETIK, principales	Two men who have passed through five offices in civil and six in religious hierarchy	Address greetings to old first judge; drink, greet new officials pass over staffs
	ʾAČʾAʾTELETIK, new officials	Men of village	Receive oath
	Professor		Gives oath
Plaza, noon	*TEKLUM*, Village (people) *Spinil Meʾelenik*, all the women *Spinil Winkenik*, all the men	Men and women of village	Look to see who the new officials are
[788]	*ʾAČʾAʾTELETIK*, new officials		Make two turns in procession
[794]	*ʾALPERESETIK*, alferezes		Lead procession with banners
[794]	*BALNIALETIK*, assistants	Two of president's assistants	Play flute and drum, light firecrackers
[794] Church, noon	*MARTOMAETIK*, mayordomos		Look to see new officials
	PIŠKAL, fiscal		Look to see new official
	ʾAČ' AʾTELETIK, new officials		Speak to God
Townhall, afternoon	*ʾAČ' AʾTELETIK*, new officials		Drink with *krinsipaletik*
	KRINSIPALETIK, principales		Drink with new officials

APPENDIX 3B—SUMMARY OF SETTINGS, ROLE, AND BEHAVIOR IN RELIGIOUS INAUGURATION

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SETTING	ROLE (terms in capital letters refer to groups)	RELATIONSHIP	BEHAVIOR
[574] House of kobraria Sacramento, morning of inauguration	KOBRARIA SAKRAMENTU	Ego	Receives guests; sits at first seat on outside wall near door
[604] [605]	NAKAWANEHETIK	Fa's brother and fa's brother's sons	Initiates greetings, sits at head seat
[593] [608]	BALNIAŁETIK	Sons, sons of campadres, neighbors	Serve liquor, food
[602]	ME'ELETIK, women	Elder female relative	Responds to nakawane's greetings, orders helpers
[608]	Me'ilk'op, woman speaker		
	ŠKOLTAWANEHETIK, helpers	Comadres, sisters, neighbors	Prepare food, coffee
	MARTOMAETIK 3 KOBRARIA TATILETIK NIČ'ANILETIK		Eat and drink. Listen to advice of nakawanehetik
Church, morning of inauguration	PIŠKAL, fiscal KURA, priest ?AČ'MARTOMAETIK, new mayordomos K'A MARTOMAETIK, old mayordomos		Advises mayordomos of duties. Divides up candles brought by mayordomos; hands them to new mayordomos

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621

[For the function of various socio-political officials in civil inauguration ceremonies in Tzo?ontahal, see category 116, pp. 213-223, 224-B, 226-B, 227-237, and 244-245.]

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[For details on the inauguration of various civil and religious officials, see categories 621 and 794 respectively.]